1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

the doorway of the *zɔŋ* hut stands a post with a large stone on top, and a long stick, bent in the shape of a butterfly net and bound round with leaves. 'I tie up the lightning with this', said my informant. On the ground near the stick is a pot containing 'roots' in a decoction in which the inmates of the compound bathe. 'I also use this *sa-bagr* (lightning shrine) to bring rain, only the lightning I tie.'

All the above may be seen in Fig. 87. On the left of this doorway is a shrine (*ba bagr*) of the spirit 'of the owner of the compound' (an ancestor?) with a cow horn the remains of a past sacrifice hanging on the hut wall above it. To the left of this again is another shrine, that of the 'owner's' mother. Resting on the *ba-bagr* is a pot, called a *ba' bugr*. 'This pot is the shrine of spirits once served by my father and my elder brother. I brought some earth from it (*a bagr*?) and put it in the pot, so I now say when sacrificing, "My father receive these offerings and give to your *bugr*", instead of saying, "My father receive and give to your father". I own my grandfather's *Wen* (Nankane *Yini*), it can descend (on my death) to whoever he (the spirit) names, but the spirit of our ancestor always goes to the eldest.'

Passing now through the main entrance, between two grass-roofed huts, one of which is the *zɔŋ*, the other called *nos dog* (fowl house), we enter the *zan-pak* (cattle-kraal). The cattle in this case were in charge of Fulani herdsmen who were paid by being given the milk. Inside this yard were two other huts, one for goats and sheep, and one for a horse. Surrounding this yard were four suites of rooms called *dog* (compare Nankane *deo*, pl. *detto*). These *dog* were those of:

(*a*) *Yi-dan's* wife.
(*b*) An unmarried son of the *Yi-dan*.
(*c*) The wife of the *Yi-dan's* younger brother.
(*d*) *Dog* of another of *Yi-dan's* wives.

Inside the main yard is a hut with two doors opposite each other called *zon-tug* (lit. pass straight through), where the women sit. The second doorway of this hut leads right into the yard (*zak*) of one of the *dog* (suites) in which is a shrine called *meŋ Wen* (lit. one's own God), a stone let into a circular mud mound. Beside this shrine is a pot full of roots, called *dendeuk duk* or chameleon's pot. 'I saw two chameleons one day copulating. I was told this is a forbidden thing, so I went to one who had medicine for this and he told me to bring roots. When a child is born to me, I bathe it with water from the roots. Before the *baa* (soothsayer) told me to do this, my children used to die.'

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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PLATE 3

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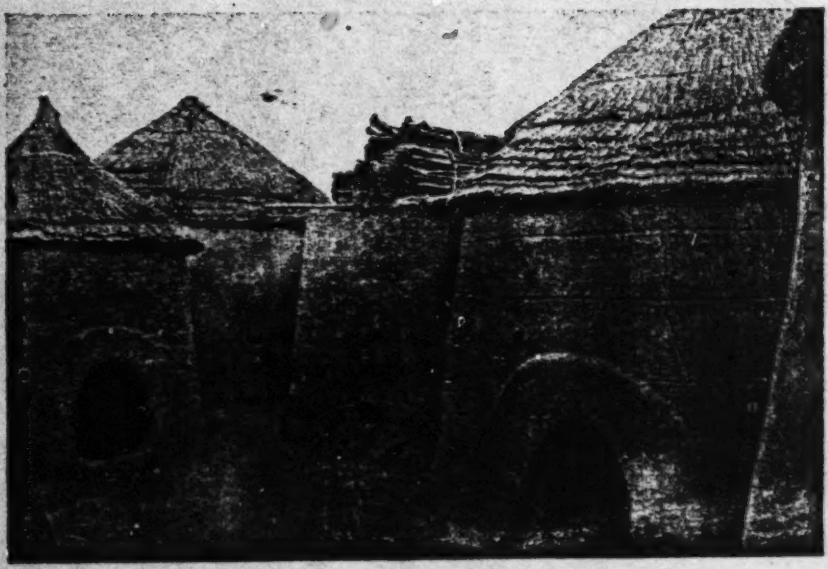

a. Interior of a woman's *Dug*. The rooms from right to left are: a store-room (*Da'ŋboog*), a dry season kitchen (*Da'ay*), and a small *Dakir* for the woman's young son and daughter-in-law. The woman's own sleeping-room (*Dakir*) is farther to the right, not visible. Note how clean and bare the *Dendeŋo* is and note, also, the bundles of dry guinea-corn stalks on top of the open kitchen. These have been saved for fuel in the rainy season

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b. The homestead of a maximal lineage head, the Gbiŋug Tendaana. Note the ancestor shrines in front of the gateway (X)

[facing p-48]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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[facing p. 49]

PLATE 4

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a. The central granary in the homestead of an elder. Note the array of ancestor shrines on the granary. The granary is about 10 ft. high and 5 ft. in diameter at the base

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b. In the *Dzadzye* of the senior woman of the family. The infant children of several wives of the family left in the care of one of them. (This is the homestead of the head of a medial lineage. Note the lineage *boyar* against the wall on the left, part of it supported on a tree-stump and part on the floor in shallow pottery dishes)

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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the *zɔŋ*, they symbolize the continuity of the lineage of which the master of that house is but one member, a link in a process to which he makes his greatest contribution as a father and head of a house. Hence the *zɔŋ* of a lineage head, being the sanctuary of all the lineage ancestors, is regarded as the *zɔŋ* of the whole lineage, and his *zanɔr* as the *zanɔr* of the lineage. When the Hill Talis were forcibly expelled in 1910–11 and their homesteads demolished, the heads of the maximal lineages later came back by stealth to rebuild a small part of their *zɔŋ* walls, for they could not appropriately sacrifice to their lineage ancestors elsewhere than in the lineage *zɔŋ*. If a woman commits adultery, she sins against her husband's lineage ancestors, thus imperilling the health and welfare of her husband and children. An adulteress, that is to say, transgresses the rights over her reproductive powers vested absolutely in her husband's lineage. Thus, if a woman is suspected of adultery she is subjected to the ordeal of entering (*kpe*) the lineage *zɔŋ* or *zanɔr*. She must face the ancestors directly, for she has committed an outrage against the lineage principle the absolute value of which is symbolized in and safeguarded by the ancestor spirits.[1] If she is guilty and does not confess, she will get ill and perhaps die. Women are terrified of this ordeal, which rarely fails to produce a confession.

Though they come and go freely in the *sapak* and *zɔŋ* in the ordinary course of domestic life, the women and children belong specifically to the domestic quarters proper. These lie behind a low wall (*yɛbəg*) a yard or so in height and about the same in length, at the back of the *sapak*. This wall usually runs between the back of a kitchen or storeroom and a large bullet-shaped chamber from 7 to 10 feet high and 6 to 10 feet in diameter at the base. This is the granary (*buur*). One suffices for a small family like Ondieso's. A wealthier man with a more numerous household may have one principal granary and one or more smaller ones. A granary has only one opening, at the top, covered with a lid of tightly plaited thatch like an enormous hat.

In the granary, again, Tale architecture embodies a fundamental element in the structure of the domestic unit. A bird's-eye view of a Tale homestead would show the principal granary as standing roughly in the centre of the circle of rooms, rising like a beacon between that section of the homestead which in use, thought, and feeling is the domain of the men, and that section which forms the living-quarters and is ruled by the women. The granary is the pivot on which the smooth working of the domestic unit turns. It holds the millet and guinea corn which provide the staple food of the natives. Without this, life cannot be satisfactorily sustained from one harvest to the next, and the household cannot exist, let alone keep its unity. What a sufficiency of food means to the Tallensi has been described in our previous

[1] This is the complementary notion to that of 'polluting the room' described above, p. 28.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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volume.[1] The granary symbolizes all the sentiments and ideas, the apprehensions and joys which the struggle for food evokes in Taleland. It stands for the security of the domestic unit in this struggle. In the organization of the household its importance comes from the fact that it is the focus of the economic cohesion and stability of the domestic group. Into it goes the product of the joint labour of the household, from it comes their sustenance. In filling the granary and in the consumption of its contents, the labour of men, women, and children is equally essential, and the rights of all equally valid. When a joint family splits up, the commonest pretext is friction over grain supplies. The family which hives off does so on the ground that it needs its own, independent food-supply. 'They have each his own granary (*ba mara ba buur ba buur*)', is the formula summing up the economic relations of brothers occupying a single homestead but having separate households.

The granary belongs to the head of the house, the *yirdaana*. No one may enter it without his authorization, least of all his wife. A devoted and trusted wife may be allowed to descend (*sig*) into it to issue the grain (*loo ki*) for cooking if there is no suitable male within reach—Tale conventions are not rigidly complied with if doing so involves excessive and absurd inconvenience. But it would be scandalous if she did so on her own initiative. The contents of the granary are formally the property of the head of the household, to be distributed at his discretion. There is no other place in the homestead which is so rigorously private to him. Besides the grain for current consumption, he stores the seed for next year's crop there. He hides a particularly cherished object, or money which he wants to conceal from other members of the family, in his granary, secure in the knowledge that no one will dare to tamper with it there.

The *zɔŋ* enshrines—in both the physical and the ideal sense of this concept—the notion of the continuity of the lineage; the *buur* stands for the social personality of the *yirdaana*, as the centre of an independent domestic family, its economic fulcrum, its jural and ritual head, controller and representative. The position of the granary in the architectural pattern of the homestead corresponds to that of the head of the house in the structure of the family, as the unique link between its parts and the source of its unity.

Tallensi say that a man's soul (*sii*) is in his granary. Using the same phrase one says of a person, '*n siig mbɛ u ni*—my soul is in [drawn towards] him', meaning that one feels a special affinity with him. Among the Namoos the identification of a man with his granary is symbolized explicitly in the taboos that his first-born children have to observe.[2] A man's granary, his cap and tunic, his bow and quiver,

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xi. Also M. and S. L. Fortes, 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', *Africa*, ix. 2, 1937.

[2] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. v.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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are the emblems of his individuality. They participate in it, for they are imbued with his body 'dirt (*ðaɣət*)'—a concept which has a physiological facet, meaning the exuviae adhering to a man's garments, quiver, or other objects constantly handled by him, and a mystical facet implying the quintessence of his individuality. The Talis also acknowledge this complex association between a man and his granary and other intimate possessions, expressing it in analogous customs, in the routine of family life and in their ideals of family relations.

To enter the living-quarters of a homestead one climbs over the low dividing wall (*yɛbəg*) at the back of the *sapak* by means of a step (*bim-bimər*) and descends, by a similar step on the other side, into an irregular courtyard (*dɛndɔŋo*, pl. *dɛndɔna*) of beaten gravel, which is surrounded by a number of rooms. According to the wealth, rank, or status of the *yirdaana* this *dɛndɔŋo* varies in size from about 20 to about 6 square yards.

This *dɛndɔŋo* belongs to the principal woman (*dugdaana*) of the house. The *dɛndɔna* of junior wives are smaller. In Ɔndieso's house the senior woman is his mother's surviving co-wife, whom he calls his 'younger mother' (*mapit*, lit. 'mother's younger sister'), and who has remained with him since the death of his father. Her rooms occupy roughly the left half of the homestead, facing inwards from the *sapak*. From this *dɛndɔŋo*, turning right between a small room beside the granary and a larger room straight ahead, one enters a similar *dɛndɔŋo* in the middle of another set of rooms, those of Ɔndieso's wife. These take up roughly the right half of the homestead, facing inwards. The *yirdaana*'s mother's (own mother, or proxy-mother) rooms always occupy the position of honour in the centre of the arc; his senior wife's (*poɣakpeem*) rooms lie on the right-hand side of these; his second wife's, or his younger brother's senior wife's rooms lie on the left, looking inwards. The rooms of the other wives of the head of the family or of his brothers are distributed as convenience dictates. For example, wives who are clan sisters will usually have adjoining quarters; wives who get on badly will be put in well-separated rooms. If none of a man's father's widows is living with him, and he has more than one wife, his senior wife occupies the central group of rooms, his second wife those on her right, and so forth. Generally the women's apartments all communicate with one another. But if a woman has a quarrelsome disposition or gets on badly with her co-wives for any other reason, her quarters will be separated from those of the next-door wife by a low party wall, to prevent undue trespassing by her co-wives or their children.

A woman's apartments make up a self-contained section in the homestead. This is her *dug* (pl. *dugət*). Basically *dug* means a single room, but it is extended to mean the single set of rooms belonging to one wife. In the Tale family every woman with children is entitled to her own *dug*. Women guard this right jealously, and if a man has not built separate quarters for his wife by the time that she has had her first child,

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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592 A woman is entitled to have at least three rooms in her *dug*, a sleeping-room (*dakir*) a dry-season kitchen (*da'aŋ*) and a storeroom (*da'aŋboog*). Men of substance often allow their older wives a fourth room (*boog*), which always has a flat mud roof and serves as an extra storeroom and a guest-room, or as a room in which a daughter-in-law can be temporarily accommodated, or where the *yirdaana* can sit and talk to his visitors in the rainy season.

342 592 [352] The *dakir* is the largest room, usually 10 to 12 feet in diameter.[1] Here the woman sleeps with her young children; here her husband comes to her at night; here she is confined when she bears him a child; here she keeps her sleeping-mats and her few personal treasures; and here, if she is his senior wife, her husband's best cloth or tunic, his bow and quiver, and other personal belongings. Her husband and children have free access to her *dakir*. Other members of the family must generally ask her permission to enter it or a family quarrel will result. To enter a *dakir* one crawls through an arched doorway, 2 to 3 feet high and about the same in width. Inside darkness reigns, relieved only by the glimmer of light that enters under the eaves and through the doorway, or a small aperture high up in the wall.

343 592 A stretch of wall 2 or 3 feet long forms a shallow recess between the *dakir* and the unroofed dry-season kitchen (*da'aŋ*). Here one generally sees a bundle of firewood stacked in a corner, or, in the right season, a heap of shea nuts. The *da'aŋ* itself is horseshoe-shaped and smaller than a *dakir*—from 4 to 8 feet across the shorter axis and 6 to 9 feet across the longer axis. The doorway is usually about 4 feet high, so that one can go in and out easily, as domestic tasks require. As it is for use in dry weather only, it is open to the sky. After the harvest, millet and guinea-corn stalks are spread on top, partly as a shield from the sun but chiefly as a reserve of firewood. The cooking-hearth (*ɔɔrəg*), the water-pots (*kɔwoor*), the cooking-pots and dishes (*dɔɣat* and *laas*), the stirring-stick (*vugər*), and ladles (*bies*), lying about in none too orderly a fashion, show well the uses to which this room is put.

Adjoining the *da'aŋ* is the larger, roofed *da'aŋboog*, the storeroom and larder. This room often has a doorway leading into the *da'aŋ* and not into the *dendɔŋo*, for the greater convenience of the housewife. Here the housewife keeps her stocks of foodstuffs—her dried vegetables and condiments, the odd piece of dried fish or meat she has hoarded, a pot of millet, perhaps, which she acquired by her own efforts, and so forth—as well as the utensils she is not using, and any bulky articles belonging to her or other members of the family. Here she also cooks in the wet season. At a pinch it may be used as a sleeping-room for a visitor

[1] The diameters of a room are always discrepant, it may be by an inch or two or by as much as a foot, so that its base is never a perfect circle. The natives themselves do not notice this as it is due to their crude method of marking out the circle for the base with the foot.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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or adolescent son. The *da'aŋ* and *da'aŋboog* also serve as a sort of drawing-room. A guest who must be treated with respect is invited to step round to the kitchen to have his meal there in private, a suitor is told to go round to the girl's mother's kitchen to plead his suit with her.

The *da'aŋ* and *da'aŋboog* are the counterpart in the social sphere of a woman of the *zɔŋ*, cattle yard (*sapak*), and granary (*buur*) in that of a man. They mark off the economic field reserved for her and the social sphere in which she is supreme. Etiquette and convention show this, and, as in the case of the *zɔŋ* and the *buur*, ritual notions give expression to it and put the seal of mystical value on it. Women do not have ancestor shrines of their own. But in her storeroom an old woman keeps her *zaaloŋ*. This is a long rope net, holding a neat pile of polished calabash dishes (*ŋman*) of all sizes which she has accumulated during her married life. One of these is her *kumpiog*, 'basket of death'. It is the symbol of her mortal existence.[1] When she dies it stands in her *dɔndɔŋo* and is eventually taken, with the most meticulous ceremonial care, to her eldest surviving daughter. In this room also she keeps her main storage pot (*dɔk*). It is to her what a man's granary is to him. One sign of this is the rule that her first-born daughter may never, in the mother's lifetime, open it. She does so ritually when her mother's funeral is completed.[2]

Lastly, there is the grinding-room (*neer*), a vastly important item in the organization of the domestic economy, and in the personal relations of the women of a family with one another. It is always a small, low room, 3 or 4 feet in diameter, with a doorway barely large enough to admit a person on hands and knees. A hole under the eaves, the size of a soup plate, lets in a glimmer of light. A waist-high table built of mud, in the hollow surface of which two nether grindstones are embedded, takes up most of the interior. In a small homestead like Ɔndieso's one *neer* is enough, and his mother and wife share it, though the older woman seldom has occasion to use it as her daughter-in-law does most of the cooking for the family. If there are several women in a household, more than one grinding-room is needed. One reason for this is purely mechanical. Grinding the grain for the main meal, in the evening, takes at least an hour, in the period of plenty. The women and girls do this at any time of the day, but prefer to do it in the afternoon. Thus more than one woman may want to use the *neer* at the same time. But there is another reason as well. Co-wives are apt to squabble over the use of the grinding-room, especially if they do not get on harmoni-

[1] The calabash is the commonest domestic utensil and it symbolizes a woman in many contexts. For instance, when a man's wife bears a child he will send to tell her parents; and the messenger reports, with the euphemism the Tallensi always resort to on such occasions, that the woman has born 'a calabash' (*ŋman*) if it is a girl, or a 'staff' (*duor*) if it is a boy—the staff being a hunting-weapon carried by men.

[2] Cf. Ch. VIII below.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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ously, for it is connected with that precise equality of grain rations to which co-wives are entitled and about which they are extremely touchy. To obviate these squabbles, which sometimes kindle suppressed antagonisms into serious quarrels, a man usually provides a separate grinding-room for a wife with a fractious disposition.

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In a large and well-ordered house there is a great deal of free and easy communication between the different *dugət*. Children in particular go about freely from one woman's quarters (*dug*) to another's, since they are related to all by actual or derived filial ties. The men, too, are free of all the *dugət*, for the women are all either their 'mothers' (*manam*)—own mothers, or fathers' other wives, their wives (*pɔɣaba*)—own wives or brothers' wives, or daughters-in-law (*sampɔɣaba*)—own sons' or brothers' sons' wives. Men and their children, members of the same lineage, are the 'owners' of the homestead. They have determinate rights, duties, and sentiments towards all the women. The women are more circumspect, especially about the *dug* of a co-wife (*nentaa*) or husband's mother (*daŋaampɔk*) if their personal relations are not too cordial; for their social inter-relations are indirect and contingent on their marital ties, unless, as sometimes happens, they belong to the same or to linked clans and have, in consequence, a direct bond of solidarity. In spite of this, the general impression left by a visit to a large house is one of friendly co-operation unsullied by jealous distinctions.

The natives themselves have no illusions on this score. They do not take it for granted that all the women of a family will get on well with one another. They recognize clearly that the spatial differentiation of each *dug* in a house corresponds to its structural differentiation; and with this goes a certain degree of domestic privacy and a differentiation of sentiment and of emotional attachments that may become a source of friction. The *dug* (that is, a woman and her children by one man) constitutes the irreducible unit of Tale social structure, both jurally and morally, held together by the strongest social and emotional bonds conceivable to the Tallensi. The *dug* is the Talaŋ's conceptual model of infrangible solidarity, and his emotional symbol of unstinted nourishment, of complete security, and of parental devotion. It is the prototype, also, of the closely integrated matri-segment within the formally unified patrilineal lineage, as has been shown in our previous volume.[1]

In general, as the foregoing suggests, a man has no room of his own. He keeps his personal belongings in his wife's *dug* and eats and sleeps there, or in his various wives' rooms in turn, if he has more than one. Chiefs, old men, and rich men sometimes have rooms of their own, usually in their senior wives' *dɛndɔna*, where they keep their more bulky personal belongings and to which they can retire if they want privacy. The Golibdaana and the Gorogo Yikpɛmdaana, as we have seen, make an exaggerated display of their private rooms. But as a matter of fact,

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xii.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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a. The first-born son of a Namoo is ritually 'shown' his father's granary for the first time on the last day of his father's funeral ceremony

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b. The youngest son and the youngest daughter of a dead woman wear the *doclug* during the concluding rites of their mother's funeral

[facing p. 208]

4: Fortes and Fortes E-5 (1934-1936) 1936
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of sleeping-rooms and kitchens (to be described later) distributed roughly in a semicircle round an open space, 10 to 15 feet across, bounded on one side by a co-wife's quarters or a low partitioning wall. This little close (*dendɔŋo*) is the central place in the life of the family. Here it takes its meals in the dry season; here friends are received; here most of the routine of family life goes on. A man's principal ancestor shrines are kept in his mother's or senior wife's *dendɔŋo*; and there he performs many of the frequently recurring rites of the ancestor cult. The women of a single household have adjacent quarters. Their husband's mother or the senior wife occupies the central quarters; junior wives or son's wives are on either side of her, forming altogether a rough circle or segment of a circle. A householder who is not also head of the compound has no room of his own. He keeps his private possessions in his senior wife's sleeping-room. Apart from this, it is the cardinal principle of family life that a man must divide his time, his affection, and his supplies of food with absolute impartiality between his wives.

Within the compound two other kinds of rooms are of special importance for our theme, the granaries and the grinding-rooms. Every independent agricultural unit has its own granaries which are said to belong to the head of the unit. His granary (*boor*) is a man's most private and personal possession. No woman may enter it, nor any man not directly authorized by the owner. Ritual prohibitions associated with it closely identify a man's granary with his social personality. As one informant put it, with a flash of insight, 'Your granary is like your soul'.

One or more grinding-rooms (*neer*) belongs to every well-differentiated household. These are discussed later.

The family structure thus outlined is the basis of a domestic economy and of a configuration of moral, legal, religious, and personal relationships which can best be described as a compromise between strong centralizing or integrating tendencies and powerful differentiating tendencies. In the domestic economy of food, our sole concern in this paper, every unit in the system is completely autonomous in some respects and dependent upon a more comprehensive unit in others. It is a fluctuating compromise, slowly changing. Births, deaths, marriages, and their social consequences, even the mere lapse

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deal with the conversion of these raw materials into cooked food for the maintenance of all by the almost exclusive efforts of the woman.

The preparation of food is a woman's task. Though cooking is done by both sexes, men cook only on ritual and special occasions and, as a rule, out of doors. Women always cook in the kitchen, as it is a taboo to prepare food for everyday consumption outside the compound. As we have already mentioned, every woman other than a young wife has her own quarters (*dug*) consisting of several rooms. Of these, the most important for the present paper are the grinding room (*neer*) and the kitchens (*da'aŋ*). Not every woman possesses her own grinding-room, but she may use that of any other woman in her husband's compound, or of a related neighbouring compound, and no one may refuse her. The owner's permission is never asked, but a woman will not enter a grinding-room if she observes another's grain lying on the grinding-platform.

The grinding-room is the source of much friction within the compound. It is the cause or pretext of women's quarrels which often involve their husbands as well. Disputes arise mainly over the question of priority, or about the misuse of the grinding stones, e.g. leaving the *baarig* soiled with soup ingredients. Hence, a man will try to build a grinding-room for each wife in order to maintain the peace.

Inside the grinding-room is a low, semicircular platform (*neer*) the surface of which has two or three shallow depressions with their appropriate grindstones (*neekaŋ*). These vary in weight, shape, and texture according to the purpose for which they are intended. There is a heavy and rough grindstone—*ŋmaarig*—used for crushing the whole grain; a smaller and flatter one—*baarig*—which crushes the rough corn into fine flour (*zɔm*); and a small, round stone—*ziba'axneer*—used only for grinding soup ingredients such as dried vegetables, red pepper, rock-salt, dawa-dawa-seed balls, dried meat, &c. If a grinding-room lacks the latter stone the soup ingredients are mixed with a little flour and ground with the *baarig*. The flour is added so that the stone should be left clean and dry.

The kitchen consists of two adjoining rooms, a covered one (*da'ambɔk*) used during the wet season, which serves also as the store-room for the owner's produce, her firewood, and cooking-pots, and an open one (*da'aŋ*) used during the dry season. However, it happens

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not infrequently that a woman has only an open kitchen and uses her sleeping-room for wet-season cooking and for storage purposes.

A woman owns all her cooking utensils, and it is usually her mother who equips her with these as soon as her husband has built her a kitchen. Before that she uses the pots of the woman whose kitchen she shares. The fittings of a Tale kitchen are not elaborate: a fireplace consisting of two stones placed side by side against the wall; a flat stone or low stool facing it on which the woman sits while cooking; the stirring-stick leaning against the wall to the right of the fireplace, and one or two old and partly broken calabashes to the left of it; this is the complete picture.

The most exacting task in a woman's routine is the provision of firewood and water. She collects her firewood on her husband's bush farm or on unowned bush land, which may be as much as 4 or 5 miles from her home. It takes her the best part of a day to collect enough for three days. The strain of coping with her firewood requirements becomes acute when a woman has a new-born infant to care for and cannot absent herself for many hours at a time. She may therefore invite a young sister or cousin to come and stay with her and assist her; and such a young girl is often eventually taken in marriage by her husband. Co-wives never lend or give each other firewood; but when a woman has recently been confined, her mother and sisters bring her gifts of firewood when they come to congratulate her, and her husband looks about for heavy logs to bring home to her. He may assist her to carry water, too, for a few days. This is the only time when a man performs these domestic duties. At the end of the harvesting season each woman carefully collects guinea-corn stalks from the fields and stores them on the flat roof of the sleeping-room or inside the kitchen for firewood.

Water is kept in large earthenware pots (*kwoor*) in the kitchen. There is no scarcity of water during the rainy season, as every ditch and furrow becomes a stream, but in the dry season it is a problem. The women and young girls spend many patient hours at the water-holes collecting the water, drop by drop, in their calabashes, as it seeps through the moist sand. This water is kept for cooking and drinking purposes only. A few water-holes do not dry away completely, but become foul with rotting vegetation and stagnancy. The

7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

241 In order to demonstrate the annual variation in yields more clearly and the performance of individual crops, the yield of each of the more important crops has been calculated from Table 6, Appendix II, irrespective of the mixture in which it was grown; these yields are given in Appendix II, Table 7. Provided that the proportions of crops in the mixtures were fairly constant from year to year, the figures have a comparative value. From Appendix II, Table 7, the district means obtained in each year have been calculated to the nearest 5 lbs. per acre, and these are set out below in Table 4:—

Table 4.—Summary of mean yields of each of the more important crops, irrespective of mixture, for the years 1932, 1934, 1935 and 1936. Figures in lbs. per acre.

(From Appendix II, Table 7.)

Crop		1932	1934	1935	1936	Summary for all years
Early millet ...	Unmanured	355	230	365	300	270
	Manured	525	385	605	505	505
Late millet ...	Unmanured	350	195	175	255	235
	Manured	430	205	60	220	225
Guinea corn ...	Unmanured	395	230	320	495	325
	Manured	530	400	415	680	485
Groundnuts ...	Unmanured	490	630	725	685	595

The mean yields for 1936 given in the above table are lower than the means for Zuarungu and Navrongo since they include those from Zebilla in Kusasi Area. Zebilla suffered badly from a shortage of rain early in the season, which depressed the yield of the early crops; the guinea corn recovered well, however.

Methods of Storing Crops.

251 ●343 Cereals in bulk are generally stored unthreshed, in conical shaped granaries; the day's allowance is given to the women each morning by the head of the compound, and threshed as required. These granaries ("bari", Nankani) are made of "swish" proofed with cowdung and an infusion of the empty pods of Parkia filicoidea ("aam", Nankani); they are built inside the compound in Navrongo and Zuarungu Areas, and generally outside the door of the compound in Kusasi Area. In size they vary from 4′ to 6′ in diameter at the base, and from 6′ to 10′ high. A diagram of a section through a granary is given in Muir and Williams' paper (4).